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# *Gāthās* of the lost *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 in Old Uigur translation

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## *Introduction*<sup>1</sup>

The *Jinhuachao* 金花抄<sup>2</sup> is an Abhidharma text that is known only from other works, but the text itself no longer exists. Thus, the fragments edited by K. Kudara are of high importance for Abhidharma studies. The author published some *gāthās* from the Hedin manuscript No. 40<sup>3</sup> of the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm. His Japanese study was translated by K. Röhrborn into German in 1988.<sup>4</sup> K. Kudara concluded that the *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 doubtlessly was a commentary to the *Abhidharmakośaśāstra*.<sup>5</sup> In the Song Gaoseng chuan 宋高僧傳 (T.L.2061)<sup>6</sup> two commentaries under the name *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 are mentioned. One is the 金花抄 in 10 卷 juan by 崇廩 Chong Yu, the other the *Jushelun Jinhuachao* 俱舍論金華鈔 in 20 juan by 玄約 Xuan Yue of Tang. Both works are lost. It is impossible to determine the exact nature of this *Jinhuachao*, but clearly the verses preserved here in translation exactly parallel the *gāthās* of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. Discussing the origin of the Old Uigur text K. Kudara came to the conclusion that its base was the first commentary<sup>7</sup>.

K. Kudara identified already all six *gāthās* preserved on the Stockholm leaf No. 40 with the equivalents in the *Abhidharmakośa*, but presented only the edition of three *gāthās*. Since this Old Uigur translation offers an interesting example for the question how foreign Buddhist groups were studying the Sanskrit and the Chinese versions and how they interpreted the source texts in their mother languages that were very different from both “original” religious languages I would like to present here the whole material including the *gāthās* already presented by K. Kudara. It will be shown that even if the Vorlage was a or the

<sup>1</sup> Here I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dieter Maue who made valuable suggestions and corrections, but for all remaining mistakes and misunderstandings I alone am responsible. I extend my thanks to Seishi Karashima who accepted my paper for the *Annual Report of the International Research Institute of Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*.

<sup>2</sup> Hedin 40 (fac-simile in Shōgaito 2014, p. 337) with the leaf number *otuzunč yeti* “XXX, 7”. 40R24 (cp. fig. 3) 金花抄中云 *kym q'' č'v* [*\*kim ka čav*]-ta *sözlär* “In the *Kimkačav* (it) says”. The title could also be written 金華鈔 (cp. Kudara 1982, p. 990 = Kudara 1988, p. 32). The pustaka leaves of this book were prepared with a hole in the first third of a leaf, but on this leaf No. 40 the space of the hole was also used for writing (for these lines cp. fig. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile a new fragment of this manuscript among the texts preserved at the Lujia Caotang was recognised by Zhang Tieshan (publication in print).

<sup>4</sup> Kudara 1982, Kudara 1988.

<sup>5</sup> For the details cp. Kudara 1988, pp. 32-33.

<sup>6</sup> The method to use the numbers of the dictionary of Giles for the Chinese characters as K. Röhrborn does is a source of errors, here e. g. the word 僧 *seng* [this character is registered in Giles as No. 9617] correctly given by Kudara 1982, p. 994, was transcribed as *hsing* with the Giles number 4617 形 (Kudara 1988, p. 27).

<sup>7</sup> Kudara 1982, pp. 990-989; Kudara 1988, p. 33.

Chinese text as we know it today the translator considered the Sanskrit text as well.

The main topic of these *gāthās* concerns the preservation of the Dharma after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. Through faith and the vow for salvation, it is possible to remove the impurities (Skt. *kleśas*) and triumph over other teachings.

As K. Kudara pointed out, these poems contain materials that show how the translator could provide the same text in two different translations. The remark (25) 大師世眼 *tegüči šloknuṇ yalıṇ āntkākčäsi bo ärür*<sup>8</sup> introduces a word-for-word translation of the Sanskrit text. The second translation follows the Chinese text. For example, K. Kudara already recognized the text D as a version that is literally in line with the Chinese.<sup>9</sup> Since the Old Uigur texts of chapter VIII are missing so far, possible variants for the corresponding verses cannot be given. Here, those verses of chapter IX in the translation formed according to the Chinese model are presented in bold letters.

### **gāthā 01 = Abhdhk. VIII.41**

(cp. fig. 3)

*Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation*

01		
a	nimīlite śāstari lokacakṣuṣi	yumulmišta bahşıta yertinčünün közi bolmišta
	大師世眼久已閉	
b	kṣayaṃ gate sāksijane ca bhūyasā	alkınmakka barmišta tanuk boltaçı tınl(ı)glar ymā üküši anantta ulatılar ärür
	堪爲證者多散滅	
c	adṛṣṭatattvair niravagrahaiḥ kṛtaṃ	körmätük odguraklanmaklıglar üzä midik partagčanlar ärür tıtdačısızlar üzä kılıldı
	不見眞理無制人	
d	kutārkikaiḥ śāsanam etad ākulam	yavız tarkikeli üzä nom şazın kıyım kuyum
	由鄙尋思亂聖教	

La Vallée Poussin: Le Maître, œil du monde, s'est fermé ; les témoins, en général, ont péri ; la loi est mise en confusion par des hommes qui n'ont pas vu la vérité, mauvais sophistes, indépendants, que rien ne retient.<sup>10</sup>

Pruden: The Master, the eye of the world, is closed; the witnesses, for the most part, have perished; the Law is put into confusion by persons who have not seen the Truth; and by bad sophists, independent, from whom nothing is gained.<sup>11</sup>

#### *Analysis*

(a)	(26) yumulmiš-ta	bahşı-ta	yertinčü-nün	közi bolmiš-ta
	nimīlite	śāstari	loka-	cakṣuṣi
	大師世眼久已閉			

<sup>8</sup> Kudara 1982, p. 994; Kudara 1988, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Shōgaito 2014, p. 170.

<sup>10</sup> La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 224.

<sup>11</sup> Pruden, p. 1282.

- (b) alkinmak- (27) -ka barmišta tanuk boltači tınl(ı)glar ymā üküši anant-ta (28) ulatılar ärür  
 kşayam gate sākṣi- jane ca bhūyasā  
 堪爲證者多散滅
- (c) körmätük odguraklanmaklıglar üzä midik (29) partagčan-lar ärür tıddačısızlar üzä kılıldı  
 adırğa- tattvair niravagrahaiḥ kṛtaṃ  
 不見真理無制人
- (d) yavız tarkike-(30)-li<sup>12</sup> üzä nom šazın kıyım kuyum ..  
 ku- tārīkaiḥ śāsanam etad ākulam  
 由鄙尋思亂聖教

### Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a) When the Master who had become the eye of the world had closed his eyes<sup>13</sup>, (b) when also those who were witnesses perished, most of them – these are Ānanda and others –, (c) by those who did not see and have fixed views, by those who are as *prthagjana* laypeople<sup>14</sup> without restraint, (d) by bad philosophers the *dharma-śāsana* was made disordered.

### Notes

(a) When one compares the Skt. and Chin. word order, it is evident that the Uigur translator followed the Sanskrit text, especially by reproducing the cases. He put the “closing (of the eyes)” at the beginning of the sentence as in Sanskrit, while it takes the final position in the Chinese version.

(b) At the end of the line the translator added *anant-ta ulatı-lar ärür* “Ānanda and others”, probably in order to make it clear that one should understand the Buddha’s early disciples.

(c) The term *odguraklanmak* is known from the Tattvārtha, e. g. 決者決斷 [*jue yue jue duan* “making decisions is to decide and to abandon”], differently in the translation *yinčürmāk ärsär odguraklanmak üzmāk ärür* “Veneration is to decide and to abandon”<sup>15</sup>. Skt. *niravagraha* “without restraint” is translated as *midik partagčan-lar ärür tıddačısızlar üzä* where *midik partagčan-lar ärür* is an interpretament. Dieter Maue suggested that *syz* is the negative suffix corresponding to Skt. *nir-*, wherefore one has to understand *tıddačısızlar* as *\*tadmadačılar* “those who do not restrain”. H. Tokyürek mentioned a similar construction of -DAČI + sXz in her edition of Altun Yaruk IV: *ol köñül yänä öñsüz b(ä)lgüsüz işsiz küdöksüz etdäčisiz yaratdäčisiz tetir* = Chin. 心亦不可說. 無色相無事業. 非可造作 “One can also not explain the mind which is without form and characteristic, without work and activity, and one cannot make and create it”<sup>16</sup>.

(d) The compound *kıyım kuyum* was explained in a different context by D. Maue and Niu Ruji: “From *köñöl* we see that *kıyım kuyum* is some sort of mental state or behaviour.”<sup>17</sup> Although the meaning “confused, disordered” is quite sure, the derivation is not. Hopefully new examples will turn up for solving this problem.

<sup>12</sup> ly is surely a mistake for l’r *lar* the plural marker.

<sup>13</sup> The term *lokacakṣus* = 世眼 = *yertinčünün közi* is one of the designations of the Buddha spread around the world, cp. Nakamura 817b, 818b; DDB.

<sup>14</sup> For the compound *midik* (Sogdian myδ’k) *partagčan* (<< Skt. *prthagjana*) cp. ED 765b.

<sup>15</sup> Tattvārtha B 935.

<sup>16</sup> Tokyürek 2015, p. 511.

<sup>17</sup> Maue & Niu 2012, pp. 57-58.

For the pāda (d) the Old Uigur author provided two variants marked by *ymä ter* “and one says” at the end and by 又 “again” followed by final *ymä ter* “and one says”.

- (d) yavız tarkike-(30)-li üzä nom šazın kıyım kuyum  
 1. *adrılur* yavız tarkike-lar (31) üzä nom šazın bölük bölük – *ymä ter*  
 “By bad philosophers the dharma-śāsana is divided into parts – and one says.”  
 (d) yavız tarkike-(30)-li üzä nom šazın kıyım kuyum  
 2. 又 – yavız böğüş sakış-lıg- (32) –*l(a)r*<sup>18</sup> üzä – *ymä ter*  
 “Again: By bad recognisers and thinkers – and one says.”

The first alternative not supported by Sanskrit or Chinese is an interpretation paraphrasing the work of (bad) philosophers. In the second alternative the author translated the Sanskrit term into an Uigur compound. Both the words *böğüş*<sup>19</sup> and *sakış*<sup>20</sup> have the meaning “thought” derived from verbs “to reckon”. This sentence contains the same mistake (*ly* for *l’r*) as the main text of (d) itself.

### gāthā 02 (Kudara A) = Abhdhk. VIII.42

(cp. fig. 3)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin’s French and L. Pruden’s English translation

02		
a	gate ’tha śāntim paramāṃ svayambhuvi 自覺已歸勝寂靜	barmišta inčip yeg üstünki nirvanka k(ä)ntün tuymišta
b	svayambhuvaḥ śāsanadhūrdhareṣu ca 持彼教者多隨滅	k(ä)ntün tuymišniṅ šazının särgürdäçilärtä ymä purnaśita ulatılar ärür
c	jagaty anāthe guṇaghātibhir malaiḥ 世無依怙喪衆德	yertinčütä umugsuzta ädgüläriḡ koruldurtaçılar üzä nizvanılar üzä
d	niraṅkuśaiḥ svairam ihādyā caryate 無鉤制惑隨意轉	ıḡraksızlar üzä özin ögdämin amtı yorılır

La Vallée Poussin: Car, Celui qui sait par lui-même est parti dans le Calme suprême, et aussi les soutiens de la loi de Celui qui sait par lui-même : le monde n’a plus de gardien. Les vices, qui détruisent les biens spirituels, ont maintenant pleine liberté.<sup>21</sup>

Pruden: For he who knows for himself has departed on the Supreme Path, as well as the supports of the Law of the one who knows for himself: the world no longer has a Protector. The defilements, which destroy spiritual qualities, now have full liberty.<sup>22</sup>

18. Written ly.

19. ED 329b.

20. ED 816-817.

21. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, 224.

22. Pruden, p. 1282.

## Analysis

- (a) barmış-ta inčip yeg üstünki nirvan-ka (33) k(ä)ntün tuymış-ta  
gate 'tha (> hi)<sup>23</sup> śāntiṃ paramāṃ svayaṃbhuvī  
自覺已歸勝寂靜
- (b) k(ä)ntün tuymış-nıñ şazın<sup>24</sup> sargürdäçi-lär-tä (34) ymä purnaşı-ta ulatı-lar ärür :  
svayaṃbhuvah şāsana- dhūrdhareṣu ca  
持彼教者多隨滅
- (c) yertinčütä umugsuzta ädgü-lär-(35)-ig koruldurtaçı-lar üzä nizvani-lar üzä  
jagaty anāthe guṇa- ghātibhir malaiḥ<sup>25</sup>  
世無依怙喪衆德
- (d) ıṇrak-sız-lar üzä (36) özin ögdäm-in amtı yorılur :  
niraṅkuşaiḥ svairam ihādya caryate  
無鉤制惑隨意轉

## Translation of the Old Uigur text

- (a) When the One who gained the knowledge by himself departed into the highest<sup>26</sup> Nirvāṇa,  
(b) as well as the supporters of the discipline of the One who gained the knowledge by himself like \*Purnaşı and others, (c) in the world without protector<sup>27</sup> on (the path of) defilements (*kleśa*) which destroy the good qualities, (d) the unrestrained<sup>28</sup> wander about by themselves at their own discretion.

## Notes

- (b) At the end of the line the translator added an interesting but unclear statement omitted by K. Kudara: *purnaşı-ta ulatı-lar ärür*. Evidently, there is no Sanskrit parallel. I assume that it refers to Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra who often simply was called Pūrṇa.<sup>29</sup> Being one of the best disciples of the Buddha he was regarded as a master and excellent preacher of the dharma. The clear spelling pwrñ'şy can be read only as *purnaşı* where the final syllable şy might represent *shi* 師 “master” which is admittedly an unusual formation.
- (c) The verb *kurul-* or *korol-* and especially the nomen actoris of this text was discussed by Maue & Niu: “The verb *korol-* is met with as <qwrwl-> in Sogd.-Uig. script in the sense of ‘to suffer loss, to get destroyed’; two instances are quoted in OTWF 666 f. Special importance falls to the nomen actoris from the causative stem, <qwrwldwrt'čy> being the

<sup>23</sup>. AKBh (ed. Pradhan): 'tha, with varia lectio: hi which corresponds to Uig. *inčip* (note by D. Maue).

<sup>24</sup>. The mark beside the locative suffix (t') means that it is to be deleted.

<sup>25</sup>. AKBh (ed. Pradhan): mataiḥ, with varia lectio: malaiḥ which was accepted by Kudara 1988, p. 29 (additional note by D. Maue).

<sup>26</sup>. In the German translation (Kudara 1988, p. 29) the attribute was not translated, in the Japanese version (Kudara 1982, p. 993 (49)) it was 勝れて最上なる “best and highest” (for Skt. *parama*).

<sup>27</sup>. Kudara 1988, p. 29 has accordingly “in der führerlosen Welt” (in the world without guide), while Kudara 1982, 993 (49) translates through 世間において、救なきものにおいて “in the world, in hopelessness”. Formally, both interpretations are possible. Semantically, it can be taken for sure that Skt. *anātha-* and *umugsuz* serve as qualifying adjectives which are subordinated to “the world”. Because of the inverse word order the adjectival *umugsuz* must have the locative suffix.

<sup>28</sup>. Literally “hook-less, without hooks” like untamed elephants, cp. Trautmann p. 66: “The restraining purpose of the *aṅkuśa* is indicated by the adjective *niraṅkuśa*, indicating a person who does not follow the rules, who is unrestrained, a bohemian perhaps.”

<sup>29</sup>. DDB (sub 富樓那).

equivalent of Skt. *ghātin-* ‘killing, destroying’ in the translation of a jagatī strophe<sup>30</sup>. Given that *korol-* and <qwrwl> are one and the same verb, this would imply that the stem vowel was *o*. Consequently the etymological derivation from *kuri-* ‘to be, or become dry’, favoured by Erdal (OTWF 194 f.), could not be upheld. The basic verb of *korol-* is *kora-* ‘to suffer loss, be damaged’, derived from *kor* ‘damage, loss’. The regularly formed passive *koral-* is met with at least twice in BuddhUig II 183 f., where the reading <qwryl> has to be replaced by <qwr’l>, as M. Erdal kindly informed us.<sup>31</sup> The assimilation *koral-* > *korol-* is not unparalleled, cf. *yölön-* ‘to betake o.s., take refuge’ <yölän->.<sup>32</sup> In Kasai 2017<sup>33</sup> the verb *koruldur-*<sup>34</sup> is recorded two times (Aa12, Gb18), but probably in the second instance (Gb18) for *korulduřmadın* one should read *örlätürmädin* in compound with *ämğätmätin* ‘without injuring’).

(d) Skt. *niraṅkuśa* ‘extravagant, independent, uncontrolled, unruly’.<sup>35</sup> The Old Uigur word is here *ıřrak* a variant of the usual *ırgak* ‘hook’<sup>36</sup>. A further variant is *ıřıřak*<sup>37</sup>. The most probable development could be arranged in the following way: *ırgak* > \**ıřıřak* > *ıřıřak* > \*(by metathesis) *ıřıřak* > *ıřrak*. For further examples and a possible explanation cp. the data of the translation of the Xuanzang Biography.<sup>38</sup>

(d) Kudara 1982, p. 993 (49) *özin ökdämin* ‘みずから意のまま’ (‘by oneself’s wish’) was changed in Kudara 1988, p. 29<sup>39</sup> into *özin ök temin* ‘nach Gutdünken’ without a clear definition of the single words. The conjecture is not advisable in view of the combination *öz ögdäm*<sup>40</sup> though it is rarely attested, cf. Ch/U 6181 verso, l. 03 [ ] *kurug öz ögdäm taplap* ‘pleasing in empty, selfish discretion’; Ch/U 8192 verso, l. 10 [ ] *ögdäm kılık-lıg äriřlig* ‘having a [...] behaviour at one’s own discretion’.

(d) Here the verb *yori-* ‘to go, to march’ is used in the passive voice which is the only occurrence up to now<sup>41</sup>, surely induced by the Sanskrit passive *caryate*.

### gāthā 03 (Kudara B) = Abhdhk. VIII.43

(cp. fig. 3)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin’s French and L. Pruden’s English translation

03		
a	iti kaṇṭhagataprāṇaṃ	muni munčulayu boguzta barmış isig özlügüg ..
	既知如來正法壽	
b	viditvā śāsaṇaṃ muneḥ	bilip tājri burhannıñ nomın şazının
	漸次淪亡如至喉	

<sup>30</sup>. This is the strophe discussed here, cp. OTWF 826.

<sup>31</sup>. The original has in both cases clearly *qwryl-*; *koral-* seems to be unattested, cp. Nuri 2015, p. 40, but the author reads *quril-* with *u* in the first syllable.

<sup>32</sup>. Maue & Niu 2012, pp. 67-68.

<sup>33</sup>. Kasai 2017.

<sup>34</sup>. The author reads *kuruldur-*.

<sup>35</sup>. Vgl. Trautmann 2015, p. 66.

<sup>36</sup>. ED 216a.

<sup>37</sup>. BT XIII.25.8.

<sup>38</sup>. HT IX, n. to 671-672 (pp. 306-307).

<sup>39</sup>. It is not clear whether this change was introduced by the author or by the translator.

<sup>40</sup>. Cp. ED 102 *öktem* ‘proud, boastful’ in a pejorative sense.

<sup>41</sup>. OTWF 690-691.

c	balakālaṃ malānāṃ ca	küčādmäklig üdin nizvanılarnıñ ymä
	是諸煩惱力增時	
d	na pramādyam mumukṣubhiḥ	nāñ sımtalguluk ärmäz ozmak kutrulmak küsüşlüglär üzä tep
	應求解脫勿放逸	

La Vallée Poussin: Voyant que la loi du Muni est à son dernier souffle, que c'est l'heure de la force des vices, ceux qui désirent la délivrance doivent être diligents.<sup>42</sup>

Pruden: Seeing that the Law of the Muni is in its last breath, and that it is the hour of the forces of defilements, those who desire liberation should be diligent.<sup>43</sup>

#### Analysis

- (a) muni munčulayu boguzta barmış (37) isig özlügüg ..  
iti kañṭha-gata-prāṇaṃ  
既知如來正法壽
- (b) bilip [#] täñri burhan-nıñ nomın şazının  
viditvā śāsanaṃ [#] muneḥ  
漸次淪亡如至喉
- (c) küčä-(38)-dmäklig üdin nizvanılarnıñ ymä  
bala-kālaṃ malānāṃ ca  
是諸煩惱力增時
- (d) nāñ sımtalguluk ärmäz oz-(39)-mak kutrulmak küsüş-lüg-lär üzä tep  
na pramādyam mumukṣubhiḥ  
應求解脫勿放逸

#### Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a-b) Thus, perceiving the divine Buddha's *dharma-śāsana* as being in its (last) breath (c) and the time when the kleśas become strong, (d) those who wish to be released must not be careless.

#### Notes

(b) In this line the Uigur author changed the word order.<sup>44</sup>

#### gāthā 04 = Abhdhk. IX.1

(cp. fig. 4)

#### Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

As already demonstrated by K. Kudara in one example, the translations are given on the same leaf in two different versions. The first is strictly based on the Sanskrit text, the other one is nearer to the Chinese version. From the point of view of the Old Uigur language, the latter version is easier to understand as it follows Old Uigur structure patterns.

<sup>42</sup>. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 224.

<sup>43</sup>. Pruden, p. 1282.

<sup>44</sup>. It is a rare case in this translation.



04		
a	ity etām suvihita-hetu-mārga- śuddhām	uz nomlatılmış t(a)ñlig yañ üzä arıg kılılmışig
	已善說此淨因道	<b>uz nomlatılu tükätmiş bo arınmaknıñ tıtagılıg yañ bolmış yol üzä</b>
b	buddhānām pravacana-dharmatām niśamya	burhanlarınıñ nomlamaklıg yañın äşıtip
	謂佛至言眞法性	<b>k(a)ltı burhanlarınıñ çınınça y(a)rıkamış çinkertü nomnuñ tözi üzä</b>
c	andhānām vividha-ku-dṛṣṭi- ceṣṭitānām	täglüklärniñ öñi öñi türlüğ yavız körümtä säviglig taplagıglarnıñ
	應捨闇盲諸外執	<b>täğimlig ol titip biligsizlig karangu üzä tägilmiş alku taş azag nomluglarınıñ adgakın</b>
d	tīrthyānām matam apavidhya yānty anandhāḥ	tirtılarnıñ tapın sıdanın titip barırlar täglük közsüzlär säçilürlär bilgälär bo nomdın tep ymā yörmiş
	惡見所爲求慧眼	<b>ayg körümlüglärniñ kayu kılınıñ tilägäli bilgä biliglig közüg</b>

La Vallée Poussin: Voyant donc que la doctrine de l'enseignement des Bouddhas est parfaite par un chemin d'arguments démonstratifs, rejetant l'opinion des aveugles aux mauvaises vues et aux mauvaises démarches, les non aveugles vont.<sup>45</sup>

Pruden: Seeing then, by a path of demonstrative arguments, that the doctrine of the teaching of the Buddhas is perfect, and rejecting the opinion of those blind through bad views and through bad steps, the non-blind see.<sup>46</sup>

#### Analysis

- (a) (41)uz nomlatılmış t(a)ñ-lıg yañ üzä arıg kılılmış-ıg  
ity etām suvihita-hetu-mārga-śuddhām
- (Var.) uz (02) nomlatılu tükätmiş bo (03) arınmak-nıñ tıtagı bolmış yol üzä**  
已善說此淨因道
- (b) burhanlar-(42)-nıñ nomlamak-lıg yañın äşıtip  
buddhānām pravacana-dharmatām niśamya
- (Var.)k(a)ltı burhanlarınıñ çınınça y(a)rıkamış (05) çin kertü nomnuñ tözi üzä**  
謂佛至言眞法性
- (c) täglük-(43)-lärniñ öñi öñi türlüğ yavız körümtä säviglig taplag-(44)-lıglarnıñ  
andhānām vividha-ku-dṛṣṭi-ceṣṭitānām
- (Var.)täğimlig ol titip bilig-(06)-sizlig karangu üzä tägilmiş alku taş azag  
nomlug-(07)-larnıñ adgakın**  
應捨闇盲諸外執

<sup>45</sup>. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, pp. 300-301.

<sup>46</sup>. Pruden, p. 1355.

(d)	tirtılarnıñ	tapın sıdanın	titip	barırlar (45)	täglük közsüzlär
	tīrthyānām	matam	apavidhya	yānty	anandhāḥ
	sācılürlär	bilgälär	bo nomdın	tep ymä (46)	yörmiş
(Var.)	ayıg körümlüglärniñ	kayu	kılmışın	tilägäli (08)	bilgä biliglig közüg
	惡 見	所	爲	求	慧 眼

*Translation of the Old Uigur text*

(a-b) Having listened to Buddhas' preaching method which is purified by a well preached and proper method (c-d) and having abandoned the intentions of the blind heretics who are fond of different bad views, the blind go, chosen will be wise from this dharma - as also explained.

**(Var.)**

**(a) Well was preached in this way that became the method of the reason of purity – (b) by the true dharma essence like spoken truly by the Buddhas. (c) One should abandon the clinging of all those who are adherents of outside (= non-Buddhist) bad doctrines who are blinded by nescience-darkness, (d) (and having abandoned) whatever is the doing of the adherents of bad views one should wish the wisdom-eye.**

*Notes*

(a) In line 03 the first text *arınmak-nıñ tıltag-lıg yañ üzä* was corrected to *arınmak-nıñ tıltag-ı bolmuş yol üzä*. In the variant the manuscript offers an alternative reading: (03) 又 *bo tañ-lıg yañ* (04) *üzä ymä ter* "Also: in this proper manner - one also says". This shows that the words *yol* and *yañ* are interchangeable. Difficult is the word *t'nk* as equivalent of Skt. *hetu*. M. Shōgaito read *tang-lıy yang üzä* translating it as "by this wonderful way"<sup>47</sup>. While *tañlıg* is attested only here, the opposite *tañsız* is known from other sources. In the Maitrisimit nom bitig there are two instances of a compound, either *tapsız tañsız* (Maitr 73 v 30) or *tañsız tapsız* (Maitr 139 verso 09)<sup>48</sup>. For *tañ* Ş. Tekin<sup>49</sup> referred to *tañ* "ruin"<sup>50</sup> which is impossible because of semantic reasons. Rather, *tañ* should have a meaning similar to that of *tap* "satisfaction, sufficiency; satisfactory, sufficient"<sup>51</sup>. For the first case J. P. Laut translated the compound as "unappetitlich"<sup>52</sup>. Following Shōgaito's translation I adopted here the meaning "proper".

(b) The text offers the following alternative: 又 *törö-sin bilip ymä ter* "Also: perceiving the law of – one also says."

(d) The word *bäkiz* (pkyz) of the manuscript was corrected by a later hand in cursive script to *barır* (p'ryr) (cp. fig. 4, line 44).

**gāthā 05 (Kudara C) = Abhdhk. IX.2**

(cp. fig. 4)

*Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation*

<sup>47</sup> Shōgaito 2014, p. 209.

<sup>48</sup> The word is recorded in Doğan & Usta 2014, p. 308a, but without meaning.

<sup>49</sup> BT IX, I, p. 96 n. 139 v 9.

<sup>50</sup> ED 511a.

<sup>51</sup> ED 434a. The derivation *tapsız* often means "ill". D. Maue found *tapsız* "wunschlos" as equivalent of Tocharian *snāyme* (Maue 2015, p. 512).

<sup>52</sup> Laut 2001, p. 136.

05		
a	imaṃ hi nirvāṇa- puraika- vartinīm	muni inçip nirvanlıg balıkka yalañuz ävirtäçi
	此涅槃宮一廣道	<b>bo nirvanlıg orduka yalñuz eltdäçi keñ yolug</b>
b	tathāgatāditya-vaco 'ṃśu- bhāsvatīm	ançulayu kälmişlig kün täñriniñ savlıg yarukı üzä yaltrıklıgı
	千聖所遊無我性	<b>miñ miñ tözünlär üzä yoritılmaşm(ä)nsiz tözlügü</b>
c	nirātmatām ārya-sahasra-vāhitām	m(ä)nsiz bolmakıg ukıtdaçıg miñ miñ aryapudgalelar üzä sözlätılmişig
	諸佛日言光所照	<b>kim burhanlıg kün t(ä)ñriniñ savlıg arukı üzä yarutılmaşig</b>
d	na mandacakşur vivṛtām apīkşate	biligsiz tirtılar açılmaşig ymä körmäzlär
	雖開殊眼不能觀	<b>näçä açılşar yadılsar ymä közläri umazlar körgäli</b>

La Vallée Poussin: En effet, cette doctrine de l'inexistence de l'âme, seul chemin de la ville du Nirvāṇa, encore qu'elle soit illuminée par ces rayons qui sont les paroles de ce soleil qui est le Tathāgata, encore qu'elle soit suivie par des milliers de saints, encore qu'elle soit sans obstacles, l'homme de vue faible ne la voit pas.<sup>53</sup>

Pruden: In fact, this doctrine of the non-existence of the soul is the only road to the city of Nirvana; although illumined by the rays which are the words of this sun which is the Tathagata, although followed by thousands of saints, and although it is without obstacles, it is not seen by persons of weak insight.<sup>54</sup>

### Analysis

- (a) muni inçip nirvanlıg balıkka yalañuz ävirtäçi<sup>55</sup>  
imaṃ hi nirvāṇa- pura=<sup>56</sup> eka- vartinīm
- (Var.)bo nirvanlıg orduka (09) yalñuz eltdäçi keñ yolug**  
此 涅槃 宮 一 廣 道
- (b) ançulayu (47) kälmişlig kün täñriniñ savlıg yarukı üzä yaltrıklıg-(48)-ıg  
tathāgata āditya- vacas= 'ṃśu bhāsvatīm
- (Var.)miñ miñ tözünlär üzä (10) yoritılmaş m(ä)nsiz tözlügü**  
千 聖 所 遊 無我 性
- (c) m(ä)nsiz bolmakıg ukıtdaçıg miñ miñ aryapudgaleli<sup>57</sup> üzä (49) sözlätılmişig  
nirātmatām ārya-sahasra- vāhitām
- (Var.)kim burhanlıg kün t(ä)ñri-(11)-niñ savlıg yarukı üzä yarutılmaşig**  
諸 佛 日 言 光 所 照
- (d) biligsiz tirtılar açılmaş-ıg ymä körmäzlär :  
na<sup>58</sup> mandacakşur vivṛtām api= ikşate

<sup>53</sup>. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 301.

<sup>54</sup>. Pruden, p. 1355.

<sup>55</sup>. Probably a mistake for *ävirtäçig* (additional note by D. Maue).

<sup>56</sup>. For marking a canceled sandhi.

<sup>57</sup>. Emended to *lar*.

<sup>58</sup>. The negation is not rendered separately, but incorporated in the verb *körmäzlär* (additional note by D. Maue).

(Var.)nācā açılsar (12) yadılsar ymä közläri umazlar körgäli  
 雖 開 殊 眼 不能 覩

*Translation of the Old Uigur text*

(a-) Indeed, (d-) the nescient heretics cannot see (-a-) this (c-) soullessness (-a) which alone is leading to the Nirvāṇa city which is resplendent of the word-splendour of the Tathāgata-sun (-c) which is proclaimed by thousands of Āryapudgalas, (-d) though it is manifest.

(Var.)

(d) The eyes (of the heretics) cannot see – even when clearly propagated - (a) the broad way alone leading to this nirvāṇa palace, (b) the nirātmā essence experienced by thousands and thousands of noble men, (c) the resplendent<sup>59</sup> illuminated by word-splendour of Buddha, the sun.

*Notes*

(Additional note) D. Maue proposed the deletion of *ukıtdačıg* which was probably inserted by a later reader or redactor who did not realize that the hyperbaton *muni ... m(ä)nsiz bolmakıg* formed the object. By the addition of *ukıtdačıg* the syntagma changed its meaning, “who/which is teaching the soullessness”, and its syntactical function, thus becoming parallel to (a) ... ävirtäči<g>, (b) ... yaltrıklıgıg, (c) ... sözlätılmişig, (d) ... açılmişig. The resulting translation is different from the Sanskrit text and significantly inferior: (a-) Indeed, (d-) the nescient heretics do not see (-a) this, which alone is leading to the Nirvāṇa-city, (b) which is resplendent of the word-splendour of the Tathāgata-sun god, (c) which is teaching the soullessness, which is proclaimed by thousands of Āryapudgalas, (-d) though it is manifest (literally opened). D. Maue also pointed out that *sözlätılmiş* is an unexpected equivalent of Skt. *vāhita-* “exerted, endeavoured” and might indicate a varia lectio: *vācita-* (?) “taught” which is known from the Pali but not listed in the Skt. dictionaries.

(d) For *körmäzlär* the manuscript offers the following alternative: (50) 又 *bilmäzlär ymä ter* “Also: they do not know - thus one also says.”

**gāthā 06 = Abhdhk. IX.3**

(cp. fig. 4)

*Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation*

06		
a	iti diṇmātram evedam	muni munčulayu buluṇ yıṇak täṇinčä ök bo
	於此方隅已略說	<b>munta buluṇ yıṇak t(ä)ṇinčä kavırasınča sözläyü tükätdim(i)z</b>
b	upadiṣṭaṃ sumedhasām	ukıtılmiş bolgay bilgälärkä bälgülüg
	爲開智者慧毒門	<b>bolı bilgälärkä agulug bilgä bilig tözlüg nomug bašta urulmiş agunuṇ täg</b>
c	vraṇadeśo viśasyeva	m(ä)nsiz nom bašta urulmiş agunuṇ täg
	庶各隨己力堪能	<b>bodun bokun öṇin öṇin öz kücläriniṇ umaklıg ädrämi eyin</b>

<sup>59</sup>. Chin. 照 shows that instead of *yaratılmiş* the author thought of *yarutılmiş* or *yarutulmiş*.

d	svasāmarthyavisarpaṇa iti	öz küči eyin yatıldaçıñı
	遍悟所知成勝業	tüzü tuyup bilgülüküg bütürzün yeg adruk işig kütüküg tep

La Vallée Poussin: Dans ce livre on n'en trouvera qu'une indication sommaire, à l'usage des hommes intelligents : le poison, une fois dans la blessure, s'insinue partout par sa propre force.<sup>60</sup>

Pruden: In this book one will find but a summary indication for the use of intelligent persons: but poison (of belief in soul), once within a wound, will spread itself everywhere by its own force.<sup>61</sup>

### Analysis

- (a) muni munčulayu buluṇ yıṇak täñinčä ök bo  
iti diñ- mātram eva=idam  
**(Var.)munta buluṇ yıṇak (13) t(ä)ñinčä kavırasınča sözläyü tükätdim(i)z**  
於此 方 隅 已略 說
- (b) (51)ukıtlıñ bolgay bilgälärkä bālgülüg  
upadıṣṭaṃ sumedhasām  
**(Var.)boltı bilgä-(14)lärkä agulug bilgä bilig tözlüg nomug baş-ta urulmıñ (15) agu-nuñ tąg**  
爲開智者 慧毒 門
- (c) m(ä)nsız nom başta urulmıñ (52) agu-nuñ tąg :  
vraṇa -deśo viśa-sya= iva  
**(Var.) bodun bokun öñin öñin öz küčläri<sup>62</sup>-(16)-niñ umak-lıg ädrämi eyin**  
庶 各 隨 己 力 堪 能
- (d) öz küči eyin yatıldaçıñı  
sva- sāmārthya- visarpaṇa iti  
**(Var.)tüzü tuyup bilgü-(17)-lük-üg<sup>63</sup> bütürzün<sup>64</sup> yeg adruk işig kütüküg tep**  
遍 悟 所知 成 勝 業

### Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a) The thus, in the form of an orientation (b-) taught (c-) (scil.) doctrine of soulless(ness) (-b) will be (fully) manifest for the wise (c) like (the manifestation) of poison which is put into a wound (d) spreading by its own power.

### (Var.)

**(a) Here, in a measure of an orientation, shortly, we have summarized (the dharma), (b) that became for the wise men<sup>65</sup> like poison - poison of the nature of wisdom - put into the wound - the dharma<sup>66</sup> - (c) which is able (to spread) according to its own power**

<sup>60</sup>. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 301.

<sup>61</sup>. Pruden, p. 1355.

<sup>62</sup>. Deleted: yetmiş-inčä uçuz oñay uzun-lar.

<sup>63</sup>. In Shōgaito 2014, p. 172 the syllable -üg was omitted.

<sup>64</sup>. Deleted: bütürgäli.

<sup>65</sup>. #başta urulmıñ boltı “it was put into the wound”. Chin. 開 ... 門 “opened ... the gate [= the teaching]”. The alternative between the lines: 又 açılır [Shōgaito: açılğalı] üçün bilgälär yogun kapıgların “that the compact gates will be opened for the wise ones” clarifies the sense.

<sup>66</sup>. Emend to nomlug?

**differently in (all) people. (d) (Therefore) one should completely perceive that what is to be perceived and complete the good and excellent work.**

### Notes

(a) The manuscript has the alternative text variant: 又 *tükätmiš ymä ter* “Also: it is finished – one also says”.

(c) The deleted variant *yetmiş-inčä uĉuz oñay uzun-lar* offers the possibility to compare two different translations of the Chinese version, but one can agree with the redactor that the correction better expresses the intention of the text.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
庶 shu	各 ge	隨 sui	己 ji	力 li	堪 kan	能 neng	
All may according to their capacities, to their powers ...							
bodun bokun	öñin öñin		öz	küčläriñ	umaklıg	ädrämi	(3) eyin
All people, everybody according to the ability-quality of their powers ...							
bodun bokun	öñin öñin		öz	küčläri (3) <i>yetmişinčä</i>	<i>uĉuz oñay</i>	<i>uzunlar</i>	
All people, everybody may as much as their powers reach easily be able to ...							

### The term *siddhānta*

syd'n = *sidan* or *sidan*, here synonym of *tap* “wish, opinion”, cp. HT.IV.1407-1409 *anın [ya]ñılmiš sidan taplağız-[lar]nı b(ä)k katıg tutarsızlar* “Therefore you persist in your erroneous views”<sup>67</sup> = chin. T.L.2053.244c27 *gushou yuzong* 固守愚宗 “you persist in your erroneous views”<sup>68</sup>. Here the word in question must have the same meaning as *taplag* “tenet”. Chin. *zong* 宗 is one of the equivalents of Skt. *siddhānta*, and thus *sidan* could be derived from Chin. *xitan* 悉檀 “accomplishment, skt. *siddhānta*”<sup>69</sup> (DDB). But only if one accepts that *xi* 悉 spelled in Old Uigur several times *syr*<sup>70</sup> could also been have adopted as *sy*. For the syllable *tan* 檀 the pronunciation t'n<sup>71</sup> is recorded. The word is attested also in the so-called “Lehrtext” edited by K. Kitsudō<sup>72</sup>: *tört türlüg sy[ ]d[ ]*<sup>73</sup> as translation of 四悉檀 “four *siddhānta*”. The letters sy[ ]d[ ] should be restituted there to *si[r]d[an]* as already pointed out by K. Kitsudō. A clear spelling syd'n is known from (IOM) SI.0412 B02 *sidan nom-ları* (not identified fragment).

In HT.V.0761-0765 we read *kinayan sevşen [bah]şılar taş azag nomlug tirtilar k(ä)ntülärniñ sitan taplağın sımışın buzmışın körüp* “The Hīnayāna masters and the heretics of erroneous teachings saw that one destroyed and aborted their views and opinions”. The

<sup>67</sup>. HT IV, pp. 138-139 (his explanation on p. 260 is out of question).

<sup>68</sup>. Li 1995, p. 131.

<sup>69</sup>. “an established conclusion, proved fact, axiom, dogma, a text or authoritative work” (DDB). The Skt. word *siddhānta* was borrowed into Chinese in the transcription 悉檀, cp. Wogihara, p. 1168b.

<sup>70</sup>. Shōgaito et alii 2015, p. 188.

<sup>71</sup>. Shōgaito et alii 2015, p. 183.

<sup>72</sup>. Kitsudō 2015, B0021.

<sup>73</sup>. Cp. fig. 1.

authors<sup>74</sup> thought that at the end of the line a final letter *-t* is not visible, but it is clear that the last letter is *-n*<sup>75</sup> as in all other examples mentioned.

### The lines 21-23 of fol. 40R

The Chinese text of the lines 21-23 written in columns running from left to right were quoted by K. Kudara<sup>76</sup>, but not translated: <sup>21</sup>淨因道者菩提名淨無我道能 <sup>22</sup>趣涅槃故故名因道淨之因道 <sup>23</sup>依主釋也.

(21) 淨因道 [gāthā 04a] 者 𑖦𑖩<sup>77</sup> 名淨無我道 [cp. gāthā 05b 無我道] “What concerns the pure way of causes, its 𑖦𑖩 name is the pure way of nirātmā.”

能 (22) 趣涅槃 [cp. gāthā 05a] 故 故名因道淨之因道 “For being able to grasp the nirvāṇa, therefore its name is ‘way of causes’ (or) ‘pure way of causes’.”

(23) 依主釋也 “That is a tatpuruṣa”.

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<sup>74</sup>. HT V, p. 303 note to 0763.

<sup>75</sup>. Cp. fig. 2. The last letter is a long final *-n*.

<sup>76</sup>. Kudara 1982, p. 994; Kudara 1988, p. 28.

<sup>77</sup>. The character (cp. fig. 3 col. 21, fifth character = fig. 5) has a special shape with two times four vertical strokes. According to Huang 2005, p. 292 it stands for 涅槃 *niepan* = Skt. *nirvāṇa*, not for 菩提 *puti* = Skt. *bodhi* as K. Kudara read. The latter one has only two times two vertical strokes (cp. fig. 6) in Dunhuang manuscripts, cp. Huang 2005, p. 309.

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Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3. Hedin 40R21-39.

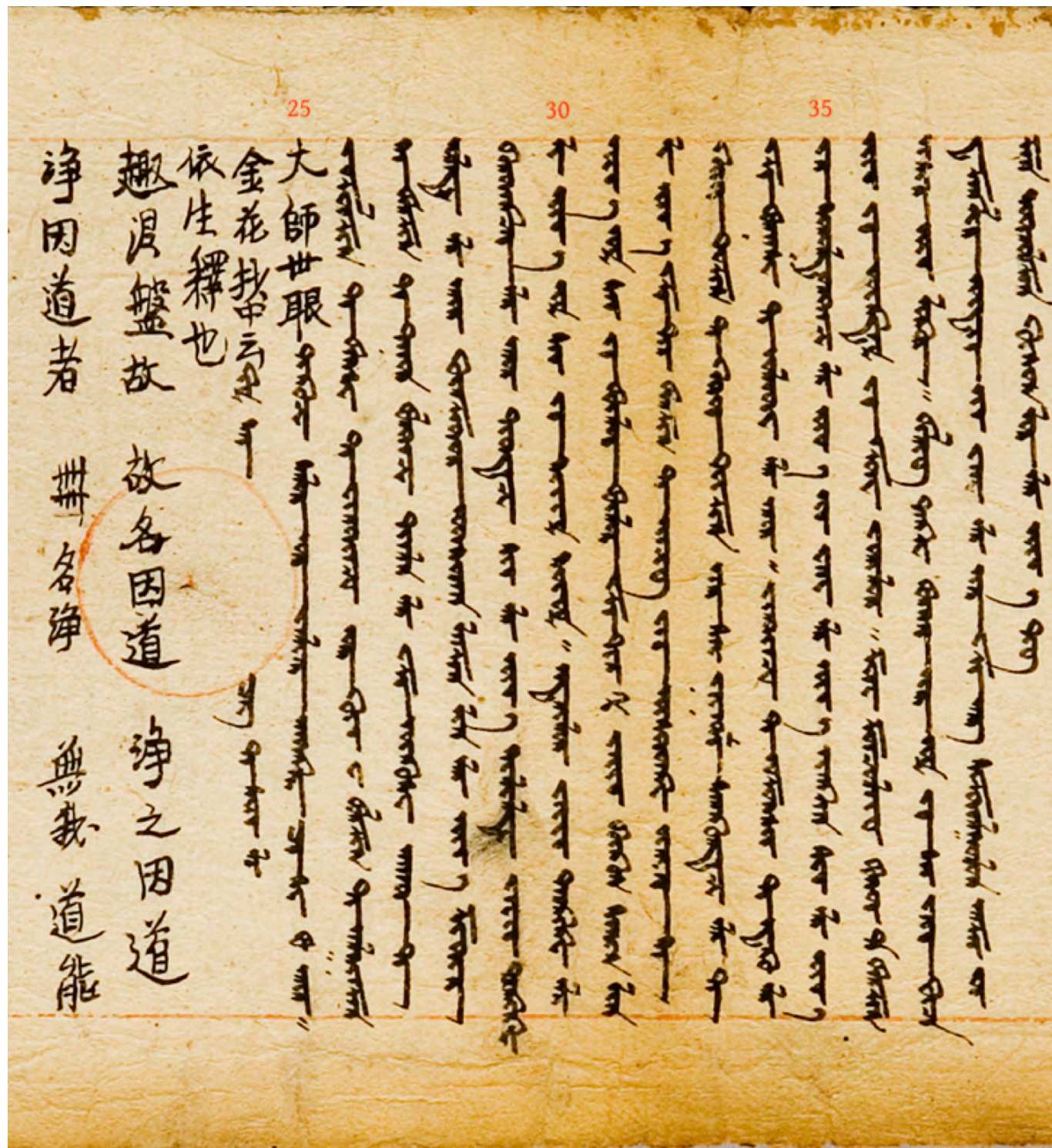




Fig. 4. Hedrin 40R39-53.

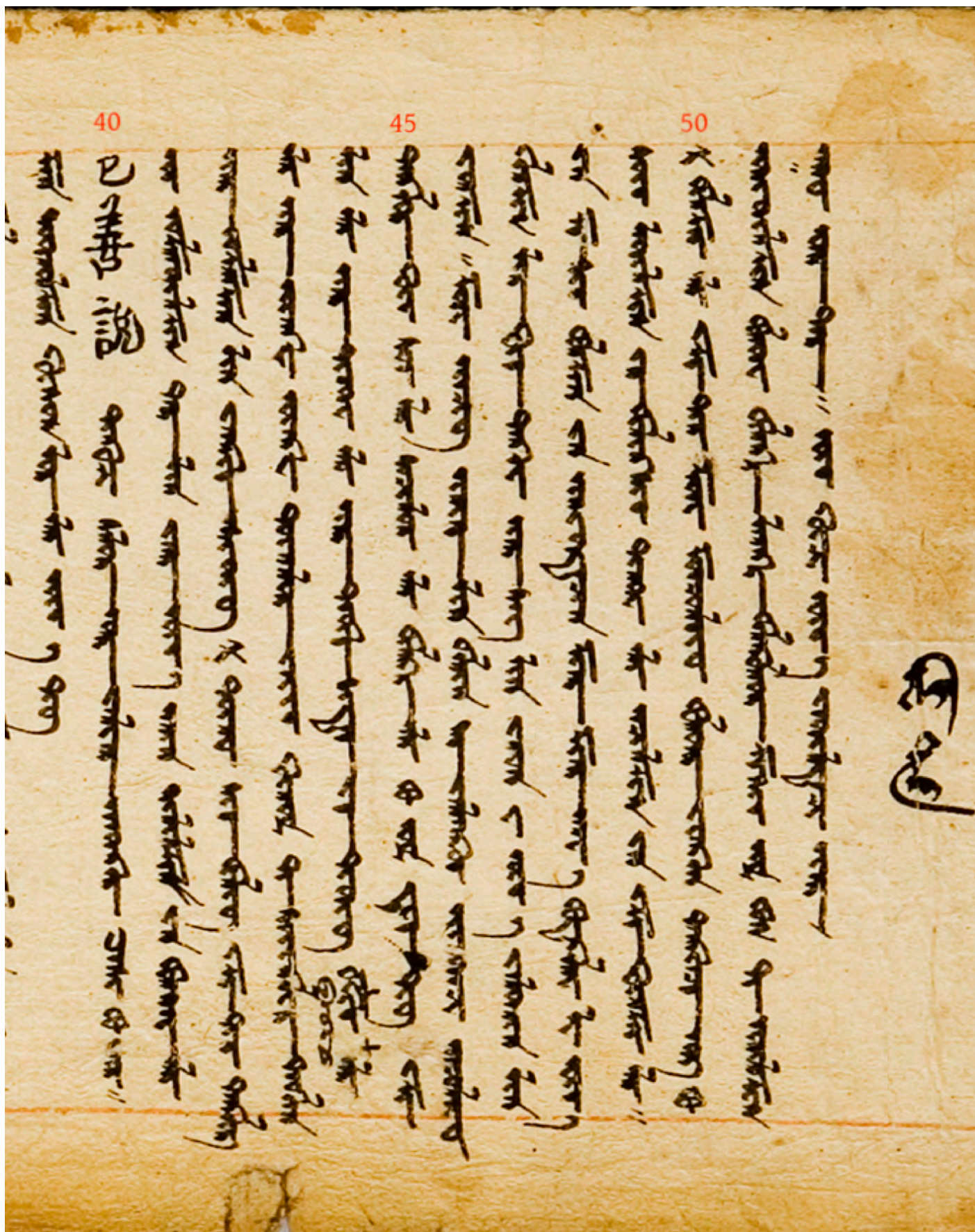


Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

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